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(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

CHILDHOOD

13 852

When the baby is from a week to a few months old, his mother 304 or his maternal grandmother pierces his ears. To do this she applies something hot to the ear and then punctures it with a strong 856 thorn or a sharp bone. The child learns "to hear things sooner" [828] and obeys more quickly if this is done promptly. "When the ears are not pierced, the child cannot be controlled; he will be wild and go to the bad. It is believed that children grow faster too if this is done." Pendants of white beads or turquoise are [301] strung from the ears of very young children, and this mode of ornamentation continues throughout life.

Sexual intercourse between a man and his wife is not resumed 834 until the child has been weaned. During this period of almost [862] three years the couple is expected to remain continent. Actually [837] some men contrive to "sneak around" and "find easy women" with whom to have relations. But social pressure operates to en 834 force this rule of continence strictly in the majority of cases. A 626 man so importunate as to demand connection with his wife too soon is subject to sharp criticism and is said to have acted "against" his growing child. "There is a man whose child is not walking yet, and his wife is pregnant. The Indians think he is no good. We are ashamed to have a second child on the way before [163] a first is weaned."

Because the mother's milk supply has been stopped or altered 853 by her new pregnancy, the nursing infant is "starved" and upset 852 and is likely to become a weakling. In such an emergency an- 843 other minor rite is arranged: [856]

> There's a hair-cutting ceremony that I'm going to tell you about. Let us say a child is only a year old and the mother is pregnant again while that child is still nursing. Then the little child that is only a year old is sick; it has stomach trouble. Something must be done for that child.
>
> When this happens, the mother usually takes the child to an old woman or someone who knows what to do. This old woman cuts the child's hair and puts red paint over the child's body. Then she gives it some kind of medicine. [755]

Polygyny, though it is not widely practiced, exists, and a man 595 with more than one wife "is in a good position, for when one of 834 his wives is pregnant or has a nursing child, he can go to the other."

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addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations. 302 788 755 386 531

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished. 304 386 824 531 756

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides?*) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value. 301 172 824 789

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair." 237 755

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls. 832

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins 302 291

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291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as [531] a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One in- [178] formant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

301 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments 789 of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the 855 camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their [857] hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes [515] are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 302 'tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the 855 hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang 824 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and 751 adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 The home in which the family lives is made by the women and [462] is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the [824] floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and ap- [412] proximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles [283] of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the frame-work, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

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82 789 [337] they may take, even though they lay no claim to a ceremony from the owl. A man who was gathering wormwood (*Artemisia frigida*), one of the plants known as "ghost medicine,"[33] explained: [783] [764] "Sometimes when you feel nervous and don't sleep well, you fumigate the house with this. People use it after a funeral." Others tell of self-treatment that "could be tried by anyone."

For trouble with ghosts I use "ghost medicine" and also ashes. I put a cross of ashes on my forehead at night. The Silas John cross is used too. I used it last night. A black-handled knife under the pillow is good for this too.

• [304] By scarring your nose with a live coal, you keep ghosts away. You take a burning stick, wet it at one end, fix this end on your nose, and let it burn down so that it scars your nose. Then the ghost will fear you and keep away. Ashes can be put on the nose to keep away ghosts too.

755 756 775 But, though self-purification often succeeds in dispelling persecution, in a residue of cases the attacks are so acute that there is no recourse except to consult an owl shaman. The ghosts are of two kinds—those of enemy peoples and those of tribesman (often of deceased relatives). Correspondingly, there are owl shamans whose rites are effective against enemy ghosts, and there are those whose ceremonies banish tribesmen's ghosts.

Most cases of enemy-ghost sickness result from battles.[34] "If a man who had killed an enemy thought he couldn't stand the haunting, he went to a shaman who used an owl ceremony on him." "If you have enemy-ghost sickness, you take a black silk handkerchief, a cross, and a knife and give them to one who knows songs for this. Then he can work for you. I've seen it

[33] Others are squaw weed (*Senecio filifolius*) and sage (*Artemisia filifolia*).

[753] [761] [721] [34] It is unlikely that enemy-ghost sickness was ever very prevalent. Despite general dislike of the sight of the dead, the ghosts of those known or continually opposed in life are more likely to be feared than are the ghosts of persons who fall under the general classification of "enemy." Some individuals evidently had very little apprehension concerning the enemy dead. One old warrior said, "We had little fear of killing at war. War was just a kind of sport. Few had fear of the dead enemy." Another man, when he was asked whether one who killed a member of another tribe was in danger, seemingly discounted the supernatural risks altogether, for he replied, "Yes, the enemy might plan a raid to avenge the death of the man he killed."